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Heirs of Chinghis Khan in the Age of Revolutions: An Unruly Crimean Prince in the Ottoman Empire and Beyond

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Abstract: Focusing on Cengiz Mehmed Geray, an idiosyncratic member of the ruling house of the Crimean Khanate, this article examines how a Crimean Prince became an active participant in the stormy politics of the Ottoman Empire and later of Europe, as a result of his distinguished Chinghisid pedigree, in the age of revolutions. The first section of this article discusses the place of the Geray and Chinghisid lineage within Ottoman imperial politics. The second section focuses on the period following the Gerays' departure from Crimea. It illustrates how members of the family, although scattered throughout the Balkans, operated in the provincial and imperial politics of the Ottoman Empire in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. The following section introduces Cengiz Geray and his turbulent life between the Ottoman and Russian Empires, and discusses how he became an actor in a revolutionary age. The last section is a short discussion on Chinghisid charisma in the early modern Europe, Russia and the Ottoman Empire.

Keywords: Ottoman Empire, Crimean Khanate, Russia, France, Balkans, Gerays, Chingis Khan, Napoleon, French Revolution, Cengiz Mehmed Geray, Osman Pazvantoğlu

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN SONRA GÜN ÇIKTIMAN

Kırım Hanlığı - 111001
Mehmed Giray - 130987
Pazvandoğlu Osman - 160042

Introduction

We do not know whether Napoleon considered Cengiz Mehmed Geray Sultan (hereafter Cengiz Geray) a viable candidate to the Ottoman throne in 1801, when he received a letter implying that Cengiz Geray could play a major role after a possible removal of the Ottoman dynasty. Cengiz Geray was a member of the Geray house of Crimea. In Ottoman circles, the Gerays, the ruling dynasty of the Crimean Khanate, had long been considered, albeit not openly, a possible alternative to the throne of the Sublime Porte, should the Ottoman family be extinguished. In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, when Ottoman integrity was at stake in the Balkans, the Gerays participated in restructuring the new order. Focusing on Cengiz Geray, an idiosyncratic member of the family, this article examines how a Crimean Prince became an active participant in Ottoman provincial politics and later European diplomacy, as a result of his distinguished status.

The Geray dynasty was genealogically linked to Chinghis Khan through his son, Jochi. Following the dismemberment of the Golden Horde Empire in the early 15th century, the House of Geray was among a number of dynasties, which inherited its patrimony and claimed Crimea. The Gerays ruled the peninsula and its vast hinterland as the Crimean Khans until 1483. From 1475 to 1478, the Crimean Khan Meñli Geray I (1445–1515) accepted the suzerainty of the Ottoman Sultan, Mehmed II (1432–1481). Beginning in the 15th century and until 1783, members of the Geray dynasty gained a distinctive status within the Ottoman imperial hierarchy and played important roles in both domestic and inter-imperial politics. While the Khanate had a strategic function as a frontier power for the Ottomans against the Muscovite State, Poland-Lithuania, and Safavid Iran, members of the Geray family sometimes acted as obedient members of the Ottoman imperial elite, sometimes as allies and sometimes as unruly vassals of the empire.[1]

In 1783, when Russia annexed Crimea, virtually all members of the Geray house left their homeland and most of them immigrated to the Ottoman Balkans, where they already had estates that the Ottoman sultans had granted them. In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, the Gerays spread out in the Balkans and became integrated into local life in the region. Cengiz Geray was one of these family members. After participating in the war against Russia in the Ottoman army, he then turned against the Ottoman central government. Upset because his estate was confiscated, Cengiz Geray gathered an armed militia and challenged the Ottoman state. Declared a rebel, he fled to Russia where he was honorably received as a member of the royal family in defiance of the Ottoman Empire. When Cengiz Geray returned to the Balkans, he became an ally of Osman Pazvantoğlu, a powerholder in Ottoman Bulgaria. Pazvantoğlu dragged Cengiz Geray to become a co-player in a plan submitted to Napoleon. According to the proposal, Cengiz Geray would become a ruler of a newly created kingdom consisting partially, perhaps entirely, of Ottoman lands. Cengiz Geray's case illustrates the political

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0271
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Pazvandoğlu, Osman (160042)

Osman Pazvantoğlu of Vidin: Between Old and New[1]

Rossitsa Gradeva

02 Temmuz 2018

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

Osman Pazvantoğlu's star rose in the midst of the anarchy which spread in the central Balkan provinces of the Ottoman empire in the last decades of the eighteenth, and descended almost simultaneously with the subsidence of chaos at the beginning of the nineteenth century. His secession from the empire was an integral part of a social phenomenon that left a lasting imprint on the historical memory of the people living in these territories during the period labelled as the "*kırcalı* time."[2] This period was marked by considerable disruption in the functioning of the institutions of central authority in the provinces. Power in Rumeli was parcelled out among numerous local *ayan*s who ruled over smaller or larger territories with varying degrees of independence. Against this backdrop of chaos and autocracy, there rose in numerous centers of power (but also of lawlessness and anarchy, which overlapped in the central Balkan lands) local despots who established almost unrestrained rule: the Buşatlıs in northern Albania and some adjacent regions, Ali Paşa of Tepedelen in Yanya [Ioannina] and much of modern continental Greece, Osman Pazvantoğlu [var. Pasvanoğlu/ Pasvantoğlu/ Pasbanoğlu] of Vidin in modern northwestern Bulgaria and eastern Serbia, İsmail Tırseniklioğlu in Rusçuk [Ruse] and part of modern

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98 [VASIL'EVA, O.V.]. From the Ardabil shrine to the National Library of Russia / Olga V.Vasilyeva. *Gifts of the sultan: the arts of giving at the Islamic courts.* Linda Komaroff with contributions by Sheila Blair ... [et al.]. Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art; New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2011, pp.200-201. (The single largest repository of Ardabil manuscripts is the National Library of Russia.) [Mainly Persian manuscripts taken from Ardabil in 1828.]

FĂNESCU, M.

Un secrétaire inconnu de Pazvantoglu.

Studia et acta or. 7 (1968), pp. 243-247

Pazvantoglu - Osman

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ASPECTS OF THE EASTERN QUESTION

Essays from the First Bulgarian-Dutch Symposium of Historiáns Sofia, 6-7 June 1984

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THE REBELLION OF OSMAN PAZVANTOGLU AND DUTCH DIPLOMACY (1797-1802)

Albert P. van Goudoever, University of Utrecht

This paper deals with the reports of the Dutch ambassador Van Dedem to the Porte in the period 1797-1802. The ambassador displayed ample attention to the rebellion of Pazvantoglu. Here I will present the results of preliminary research in the Dutch State Archives.

Before entering the real topic of my paper, I am obliged to give some information about Dutch foreign policy and ambassador Van Dedem. The period 1795-1813 has been a turbulent one for Dutch society. The French revolution expanded over Europe and the Dutch Republic became the first of France's satellites.

In 1795 a so-called Batavian revolution started a period of social change and political adventure. France was the great example to be followed. The Batavian revolution got her name because of the national and all-Dutch character of the revolutionary, patriotic movement: the Bataves were a proto-Dutch ethnic entity in the time of Caesar and were considered to be the ancestors of the Dutch people.

The Batavian revolution proclaimed the new Batavian Republic and threw out the stadholder-dynasty of the princes of Orange. It lasted until 1806, when Napoleon's brother Louis was appointed King of Holland. In 1810 at last, Holland became an integral part of France and the last remnants of independence were extinguished.

The foreign position of the Batavian republic has been quite simple. The revolution succeeded with French military help and after the peace, a Dutch-French alliance emerged: the Treaty of The Hague (May 1795). This treaty made the Dutch republic a satellite of France. It was not only meant to be a coalition against Great Britain. The continued presence of a French army in the Netherlands was secured and a great part of the Dutch fleet and army was to be put under French command.[1] In fact the French envoy in The Hague obtained a strong influence on Dutch policy. With his support another Dutch 'revolution' occurred, and mirrored in 1798 the French 18th Fructidor and the inauguration of a Directoire. A Constitution was proclaimed in which the alliance of the Dutch Batavian Republic with France was to be the fundament of Dutch foreign policy.[2]

In reality, the Dutch Republic had lost her full independence. France had obtained the suzerainty over the Netherlands. Dutch foreign policy now was a part of the French policy.[3] Nevertheless, the fiction of an independent Dutch Republic was held up to the outer world and Dutch diplomacy continued to function.

The foreign secretary as well as public opinion took offence to comments by foreigners -as e.g. the Sublime Porte - that the Republic was no more than an extension of France.[4] The behaviour of the French minister of foreign affairs Talleyrand towards the Dutch representative equally showed an attitude of 'misjudgement and neglect'.[5] The Dutch loss of full independence was obviously being noted by anybody but the Dutchmen themselves.

Sharply contrasting with this limited view on affairs, the Dutch had an open eye for the declining position of the Ottoman Empire. The Dutch ambassador in Paris

Schimmelpenninck considered the Ottoman state as a 'powerless and pussillanimous' one.[6] He considered a partition of Ottoman possessions in Europe between Russia and England to be a real possibility.[7]

The vassal position of the Dutch Republic had advantages for the conduct of French foreign policy, because of her apparent neutrality. Concentrating on the Eastern Question, this advantage is demonstrated in the period of Napoleon's Egyptian adventure. The war between France and the Porte 1798-1802 severed their mutual relations. Until October 1799, however, the diplomatic contact between the Dutch and the Porte continued. In 1798 and 1799 ambassador Van Dedem took over the French diplomatic archives in Istanbul, defended them against English pressure to seize them and took over the protection of French subjects and interests. His reports about these activities reached Talleyrand by way of the correspondence of Van Dedem with his colleague in Paris.[8] In a letter to Van Dedem, Talleyrand expressed his satisfaction: 'Ces bulletins sont d'autant plus précieux qu'ils présentent la série de toutes les mesures violentes et inusitées, qu'elle a cru devoir adopter contre tous les francais résidants ou de passage dans ces états'.[9] The French minister expressed his gratitude to Van Dedem for his protection of the French subjects.

The French used these advantages also to obtain more information about the situation in South-East Europe. The Dutch secretary of foreign affairs Van der Goes was requested to supply information on the rebellious chieftain Pazvantoglu (see below) in January 1801.[10] The questionnaire asked for data on Pazvantoglu's forces, the extension of his power, financial resources, foreign relations, relations with neighbouring pashas, his policy towards the Christians in his territory, relations with the ethnic entities in the Balkan area, the Russian plans concerning Pazvantoglu, personal relations of Pazvantoglu with high dignitaries at the Ottoman court, the role of the English and Russian ambassadors in Istanbul. The list concluded with a leading question on the Porte's capability to break the liaisons between the Court and Pazvantoglu. So far we have the questionnaire (in French) which is included in this paper as an appendix. My search in the Dutch archives to discover the answer of the Dutch foreign secretary was in vain. Certainly he could have answered most of the questions because of his information from ambassador Van Dedem.

The Dutch state archives contain interesting materials from the ambassadors of the Dutch Republic to Istanbul in the 17th and 18th centuries. From 1612 onwards a permanent Dutch representative was maintained at the Ottoman court. Several ambassadors served in this capacity for quite a long period: C. Haga from 1612-1638[11], L. Warner 1668-1682, C. Calkoen 1726-1744[12] and F.G. Van Dedem van den Gelder 1784-1809. These Dutch diplomats acquired a position of large prestige. Their knowledge of the Ottoman empire, its politics and social habits, had been respectable.

Some research on Dutch-Ottoman relations had already been performed. Especially the excellent study of Bosscha Erdbrink on Calkoen should be mentioned. The most interesting part of the archives which still are awaiting research, deals with the period of ambassador Van Dedem. In the valuable edition "The Netherlands-Bulgaria", dr. B.J. Slot opened the window on that bit of the past.[13] From the reports of Van Dedem to the secretary of foreign affairs I have extracted the reference about events on Bulgarian territory. In this respect Van Dedem showed his interest in the personality of Osman Pazvantoglu.

Ambassador Van Dedem (1743-1820) was a viscount, head of an aristocratic family in Overijssel, located in the eastern part of the Netherlands. As such he was a

followers of Islam, marriage is performed through the intermediary of a religious leader, with the father or another man as *wālī*, but only after an agreement has been come to about the very considerable dowry. This is paid to the parents of the bride; she herself only receives a small part of it. According to Dayak custom, young people are allowed to meet very freely before marriage. A marriage feast is marked by a very considerable consumption of palm-wine. The man remains at least a year in the home of his parents-in-law before he can take a home of his own. Divorce is very frequent because attention is seldom paid to the wishes of the woman in the negotiations between the parents. Man and woman retain their property after marriage; after a divorce, this goes back to the family. Property acquired during marriage is divided into two equal portions between husband and wife. After the death of one or the other, the survivor inherits all. Only a few families follow the Muslim law. The followers of Islam are buried with Muslim rites.

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PASISIR (Old Javanese, *pasisi* or *pasir*; Indonesian, *pesisir* "shore, coast") originally an administrative unit of the Central Javanese kingdom of Mataram emcompassing Java's northern littoral from Cirebon in the west to Surabaya in the east. Historically, its importance comes from the establishment during the 15th-16th centuries of small Muslim enclaves within the prevailing religious mix of Hindu, Buddhist, and animistic beliefs. While traditions of the conversion to Islam at the hands of the *wali sanga*, or Nine Saints, differs from place to place, common to them are direct experience of Islam in the Middle East, or transmission by one who had such experience, and an element of Islamic egalitarianism. Under the guidance of the *wali sanga* these enclaves rapidly developed into independent Islamic principalities.

Explanations for Java's conversion to Islam at this time range from those emphasising the "mood of the times," through influences of the Ṣūfī *ṭarīḳas* [*q.v.*] to a race with Christianity. More significant here is the region's response to the changing economic environment. With an increased volume of East-West trade, which tended to be dominated by Muslim merchants, the states of the *pasisir* provided an congenial urban environment for international commerce and Islamic religious centres. The formation of political confederations among *pasisir* states—Demak in the 15th century and Cirebon-Banten in the 16th—led to armed conflict with the inland states, providing a complementary process ultimately furthering Islamic interests in the island.

Culturally, the *pasisir* played a key role in the introduction of important Arabic texts, especially those dealing with the *sharīʿa* [*q.v.*]. Of those cited in the early 19th century *Serat Centini*, only a half-dozen are attributable to the *pasisir* era. These include the *Mukharar* (*al-Muḥarrar* of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAbd-al-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Rāfiʿī) [see AL-NAWAWĪ], the *Kitab Nawawī* (*Minhādj al-ṭālibīn* of al-Nawawī), the *Kitab Ibnu Kadjar* or *Kitab Tuhpah* (*Tuḥfat al-muḥtādj li-sharh al-Minhādj* of Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī [*q.v.*]), the *Ilah* (*Īḍāḥ fi 'l-fiḳh*), and the *Sujak* (*al-Mukhtaṣar fi 'l fiḳh ʿalā madhhab al-Imām al-Shāfiʿī* of Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Iṣfahānī). To these can be added an important work on Ṣūfism, the *Hulumodin*, a corrupted title of the *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* of al-Ghazālī [*q.v.*].

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(M.C. HOADLEY)

PASSAROWITZ [see PASAROFČA].

PASWAN-OGHLU (written *Pāsbān-oghlī*, as if from Pers. *pāsbān* "guard, shepherd", cf. *Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām*, ii, 1467) or *Pāzwānd-oghlī* (as in ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sheref, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 280) or, according to modern Turkish orthography, Pazvantoğlu (Hamit and Muhsin, *Türkiye tarihi*, 423), but on his own seal "Pāzwānd-zāde ʿOthmān" (in Oreškov, see *Bibl.*), the rebel Pasha of Vidin (1758-1807). His family originated in Tuzla in Bosnia, but his grandfather, Paswan Agha, for his services in the Austrian wars was granted two villages near Vidin [*q.v.*] in Bulgaria in *ca.* 1739. ʿOthmān's father ʿÖmer Agha Paswan-oghlu not only inherited these villages but as *bayraḳdār*, etc., was also a rich and prominent man (*aʿyān*); on account of his defiant attitude, however, he was put to death by the local governor.

ʿOthmān himself only escaped death by escaping into Albania, but after taking part in the war of 1787-9 as a volunteer, he returned to his native town. Very soon he was in the field again and fought with distinction, returning to Vidin in 1791. From there he organised with his men raiding expeditions into Wallachia and Serbia. When the sultan wanted to punish him for this, he cast off his allegiance in 1793, took to the mountains and at the end of 1794 captured Vidin with his robber band and became the real ruler in the *pashalīḳ* there. Vidin, which he fortified again, thus became a meeting-place for robbers and discontented Janissaries who were driven out of Serbia in 1792, and he himself became the popular leader of all those who opposed the reforms of Selīm III.

In 1795 Paswan-oghlu even attacked the governor of Belgrade, Ḥādjdjī Muṣṭafā Pasha, a supporter of the reformers, who had been given the task of disposing of him; strong bodies of troops were sent by the Porte but without success. In consequence, negotiations were begun at the end of 1795 but Paswan-oghlu remained practically independent in the whole of Upper Bulgaria.

But since the Porte did not also formally recognise him, Paswan-oghlu drove the official governor out of Vidin and in 1797 attacked the adjoining *pashalīḳs*; in the east his forces occupied or threatened a number of places in Bulgaria (but they were defeated at Varna), and in the south they attacked Nish [*q.v.*] without success; in the west they advanced up to Belgrade, occupied the town, but were driven back from its fortress by the resistance of the Turks and Serbs whom Ḥādjdjī Muṣṭafā had armed. As a result of this and because of Paswan-oghlu's negotiations with France and Russia, the Porte in 1798 sent an army of 100,000 men against him under Admiral Küčük Ḥuseyn Pasha. He besieged Vidin in vain until October, and had to withdraw with heavy losses. This defeat and Bonaparte's invasion of Egypt induced Turkey to come to terms, nominally at least, with Paswan-oghlu and to give him the rank of Pasha of three tails (1799).

Nevertheless, he declared himself against the reforms, against the central government and even

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Kütüphanede Muvcutlus
PAZVANOGLU OSMAN

Pasvandoğlu Osman

با شهرهای تابع دولت اتریش گذر کنند (هامر پورگشتال، VII/236؛ لاموش، ۱۳۶؛ میلر، 10؛ لویس، 45).

شهر پاساروویتز تا جنگ جهانی اول، در صلح و امنیت رو به گسترش نهاد، به گونه‌ای که در اوایل سدهٔ ۲۰م یکی از شهرهای مهم صربستان به شمار می‌رفت. این شهر پس از پایان جنگ جهانی اول و تشکیل پادشاهی یوگسلاوی، در شمار شهرهای این کشور قرار گرفت (EI²) و پس از فروپاشی فدراسیون یوگسلاوی در قلمرو جمهوری صربستان و مونتنگرو باقی ماند.

مآخذ: لاموش، لئون، *تاریخ ترکیه*، ترجمهٔ سعید نفیسی، تهران، ۱۳۱۶ش؛ نیز:

EI²; *Enciclopedia Italiana*, Rome; Hammer-Purgstall, J., *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, Graz, 1965; Lewis, B., *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, London, 1979; Miller, W., *The Ottoman Empire and its Successors 1801-1927*, London, 1966; «Passarowitz, Treaty of», *Fact Monster*, www. factmonster.com/ce6/history/A0837796.html; «Pozarevac», *World History*, www. worldhistory.com / wiki / p / pozarevac.htm.

پرویز امین

پاسبانْ اوغلو، عثمان (۱۱۷۱-۱۲۲۲ق/۱۷۵۸-۱۸۰۷م)، از اعیان و پاشاهای معروف دولت عثمانی در وِدین[1] (شمال غربی بلغارستان)، معاصر سلطان سلیم سوم که برضد دربار عثمانی طغیان کرد. نام و لقب او مشتمل بر واژهٔ فارسی پاسبان، در منابع به صورتهای مختلف مانند پاساوان اوغلو و پاسبان زاده نیز آمده است و سجع مهرش پازواندزاده عثمان بود (EI², VIII/284؛ هامرپورگشتال، ۳۶۳۱/۵؛ IA, IX/532) که بعدها نام خانوادگی یکی از مهم‌ترین خاندانهای ناحیهٔ ودین شد.

نیاکان پاسبان اوغلو اصلاً تاتار بودند و در لشکرکشی سلطان بایزید اول به بلغارستان شرکت داشتند. نیای او موسوم به پاسبان آغا در جنگ عثمانی ـ اتریش در سپاه باب عالی می‌جنگید و پس از جنگ، دو دهکده در ناحیهٔ ودین به او واگذار شد (EI²، همانجا)، عمر آغا، پدر عثمان در همان‌جا ثروت و قدرتی به دست آورد و چون مزاحمتهایی برای دولت مرکزی ایجاد می‌کرد، در آغاز جنگهای روس ـ اتریش و عثمانی اعدام شد. پاسبان اوغلو در پی این واقعه گریخت و در آلبانی پنهان شد، اما چندی بعد به افلاق (والاشی در رومانی) رفت و در سپاه عثمانی برضد اتریش جنگید. وی چون جسارت و قابلیتی نشان داد، بخشوده، و پاره‌ای از املاک پدر به او باز گردانده شد (جودت، ۲۹۴/۶؛ IA, IX/533). او نیز به سرعت نفوذ و قدرت یافت و عده‌ای از مرزداران و دولتمردان روم ایلی (بخش اروپایی قلمرو عثمانی) به او پیوستند. در این ایام که بحرانهای متعدد سیاسی و اقتصادی دربار عثمانی را فرا گرفته بود و در بسیاری از ولایات، شورشها و قیامهای استقلال طلبانه ظاهر می‌شد (ووسینیچ، ۹۱)، پاسبان اوغلو نیز در ودین به اندیشهٔ طغیان افتاد (کارال، V/78؛ میلر، 19). اصلاحات سلطان سلیم سوم، یعنی «نظام جدید» نیز کارساز نشد و سلطان جان بر سر این کار نهاد (کارال، V/61, 77-85). پاسبان اوغلو در این میان ودین را تصرف کرد و استحکاماتی ساخت و دستگاهی پدید آورد که مأمن مخالفان اصلاحات سلطان سلیم شد (میلر، همانجا).

وی سپاهی مستقل ایجاد کرد و به نام خود سکه زد و مالیات وضع نمود (همانجا؛ EI², VIII/285) و کوشید با فرانسویان ارتباط برقرار کند (میلر، 20-19). آن‌گاه به توسعهٔ قلمرو خود دست زد، از دانوب تا بالکان و از بلگراد تا وارنا را تسخیر کرد (سامی، ۱۴۶۷/۲)؛ و عملاً دست به شورش زد. کوشش دولت مرکزی برای سرکوب او و توسط پاشای بلگراد بی‌نتیجه ماند. با این همه، پاسبان اوغلو با دربار عثمانی تجدید دوستی کرد و بخشوده شد (IA، همانجا)؛ گر چه پس از آن نیز بارها به شورش و دعوی استقلال برخاست، چنان که به رومانی هم هجوم برد (میلر، 20).

تلاش مجدد دولت استانبول برای سرکوب او به جایی نرسید و حتیٰ به سبب مشکلات عدیدهٔ دیگر، مانند حملهٔ ناپلئون به مصر، ناچار به صلح با پاسبان اوغلو شد و با خودمختاری او در ودین موافقت کرد (سامی، همانجا؛ کارال، V/29؛ هامر پورگشتال، همانجا) و رتبهٔ وزیری به او داد (سامی، همانجا). این نیز چندان سود نداد و پاسبان اوغلو به حمایت خانهای استقلال طلب کریمه برخاست. دولت عثمانی رتبهٔ او را لغو کرد و عثمان پاشای گرجی را به حکومت ودین فرستاد. پاسبان اوغلو در برابر، به افلاق و بخارست لشکر کشید. با فشار کنسولهای دول اروپایی در رومانی، دولت عثمانی با پاسبان اوغلو صلح کرد و علاوه بر ودین، حکومت سنجاق نیکبولی نیز به او واگذار شد (IA، همانجا؛ جودت، ۴۴/۷).

پاسبان اوغلو پس از این در کنار دولت به مقابله با شورشیان صرب و حملات روسها برخاست، ولی در همین اثنا در ۴۹ سالگی درگذشت. وی با آنکه مردی جنگی و از مشهورترین امرای عثمانی در سراسر سواحل دانوب و بالکان به شمار می‌رفت، بسیار مردم دوست و نرمخو و اهل آبادانی بود، از این‌رو، میان مردم محبوبیت بسیار داشت. مسجدی که امروزه به نام او مشهور است، از مهم‌ترین مساجد این ولایات به شمار می‌رود. مقبرهٔ وی در کنار مسجد مصطفیٰ پاشا در ودین قرار دارد (IA، همانجا).

مآخذ: جودت، احمد، *تاریخ*، استانبول، ۱۳۰۹ق؛ سامی، شمس الدین، *قاموس الاعلام*، استانبول، ۱۳۰۶ق؛ ووسینیچ، وین، *تاریخ امپراتوری عثمانی*، ترجمهٔ سهیل آذری، تهران، ۱۳۴۷ش؛ هامرپورگشتال، یوزف، *تاریخ امپراتوری عثمانی*، ترجمهٔ زکی علی آبادی، به کوشش جمشید کیان‌فر، تهران، ۱۳۶۹ش؛ نیز:

EI²; IA; Karal, E. Z., *Osmanlı tarihi*, Ankara, 1983; Miller, W., *The Ottoman Empire and its Successors, 1801-1927*, London, 1966.

علی اکبر دیانت

پاسه[2]، یا پاسی، شهر و ناحیه‌ای کهن در استان آچهٔ اندونزی واقع در شمال جزیرهٔ سوماترا و نام یکی از کهن‌ترین حکومتهای اسلامی در مجمع الجزایر اندونزی.

این نام که در منابع پرتغالی پاسم و در مآخذ محلی پاسای (جرینی،

1. Vidin 2. Pasé

MADDE YAYINLANDIKTAN SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN
21 KASIM 2009

Pazvandoğlu Osman (160042)

09 OCAK 2008

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MUTINY AND REBELLION IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

EDITED BY JANE HATHAWAY

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı
İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi
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Robert Zens

PASVANOĞLU OSMAN PAŞA AND THE PAŞALIK OF BELGRADE, 1791-1807*

The Serbian uprising of 1804 and the events surrounding it have been the subjects of a variety of studies, but the major figure behind them, Pasvanoğlu Osman Paşa, has been neglected by most scholars. Pasvanoğlu's revolt against the Ottoman central government began the Serbian uprising. In fact, one can state safely that Pasvanoğlu prepared the groundwork for it in the same way that Tepedelenli Ali Paşa laid the foundation for the Greek revolution of 1820. Pasvanoğlu's actions against the sultan and state-appointed officials were a turning point in Ottoman history in the sense that the local administrators, or *ayans*, achieved the full control over the community and its economic resources that allowed them to defy the authority of the central government. Pasvanoğlu achieved such firm control over the *paşalık* of Belgrade that he forced the state to arm the *reaya*--the very group that the state was supposed to rule, protect, and tax--and use them against its own representatives. In the great paradox of the situation, the state used non-Muslim subjects against its fellow Muslims, enabling the non-Muslims to seek control over their own security and economic well-being and making the Ottoman administration redundant.

Pasvanoğlu's rise to power was facilitated by issues that affected everyone in the Balkans in the last decade of the eighteenth century. Foremost was a struggle for control of the land. The *ayans* continually sought to wrest control of the land from the state, that is, to transform *miri* (state) lands into *mülk* (private property) in order to gain the right to cultivate it according to the needs of the market economy. Pasvanoğlu, who resided in Vidin near the Habsburg border, could draw great wealth from the sale of agricultural goods to his Habsburg neighbors if he could establish control over and extend his landholdings. Pasvanoğlu's acquisition of land, however, diminished the security and economic stability of the *reaya*, especially those in the *paşalık* of Belgrade.

Closely tied to the struggle for land ownership was the issue of centralization. During the reign of Sultan Selim III (1789-1807), a policy of centralization was introduced to re-impose state control over economic means.[1] Because the land was the chief economic asset, its potential master (the state, *ayan*, or other landowner)

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* A prior version of this paper was delivered at the 2001 Middle East Studies Association conference.

1. For a detailed account of Sultan Selim's reign and reforms, see Stanford J. Shaw, *Between Old and New: The Ottoman Empire under Sultan Selim III, 1789-1807* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971).

sh. 89-104

Rossitsa Gradeva, War and Peace in Rumeli: 15th to Beginning of 19th Century, Istanbul 2008. ISAM 177605

Muslim religious authorities and the respective religious courts of the faiths, those of the *ağa* of the janissaries over members of the corps involved in criminal cases, and others. In parallel, on the edge of official recognition, there existed institutions of territorial (especially in rural areas) and professional (the *esnaf*s) self-rule, which dealt with minor but also more important legal cases involving their members where customary law was applied. Of course, at the top of this system of intertwining and overlapping competences stood the sultan and the Imperial Divan.

The second part of the collection addresses various aspects of the functioning of the *kadı* courts as judicial institutions and the issue of the existence of hierarchy in the Ottoman Sharia court system. A specific and very revealing angle with a view to the study of the realities of the non-Muslims' legal status in the empire is the treatment of the *zimmi* houses of prayer by the Ottoman authorities. This problem is explored against the backdrop of the specificities of the Ottoman judicial-administrative system and the changing fate of several concrete places in Rumeli as the result of war, the developments in domestic policy and international relations. The studies included in the third part and dedicated to various themes related to the everyday life of provincial elite and rank-and-file Ottoman subjects, citizens and peasants offer glimpses of the lifestyle and the mentality of Muslims and non-Muslims who lived in the region, people who in *War* and *Peace* made the history of *Rumeli*.

One thing that I have always liked about my work is that it has brought me in contact with many interesting people. I owe a lot to my friends and colleagues in Bulgaria, Canada, France, Germany, Greece, Israel, the Netherlands, Turkey, the UK and the USA. They have helped me a lot in my work and have been a moral support. I wish to express my gratitude to all of them. My special thanks goes also to the Andrew Mellon Fund and ARIT-Istanbul and to Max-Planck Institute for the History of European Law (MPIER)-Frankfurt, Germany which have provided me with the opportunity to pursue my scholarly goals despite the difficulties that still face most Bulgarian historians.

OSMAN PAZVANTOĞLU OF VIDIN: BETWEEN OLD AND NEW[1]

Osman Pazvantoğlu's star rose in the midst of the anarchy which spread in the central Balkan provinces of the Ottoman empire in the last decades of the eighteenth, and descended almost simultaneously with the subsidence of chaos at the beginning of the nineteenth century. His secession from the empire was an integral part of a social phenomenon that left a lasting imprint on the historical memory of the people living in these territories during the period labelled as the "*kırcalı* time."[2] This period was marked by considerable disruption in the functioning of the institutions of central authority in the provinces. Power in Rumili was parcelled out among numerous local *ayan*s who ruled over smaller or larger territories with varying degrees of independence. Against this backdrop of chaos and autocracy, there rose in numerous centres of power (but also of lawlessness and anarchy, which overlapped in the central Balkan lands) local despots who established almost unrestrained rule: the Buşatlıs in northern Albania and some adjacent regions, Ali Paşa of Tepedelen in Yanya [Ioannina] and much of modern continental Greece, Osman Pazvantoğlu [var. Pasvanoğlu/ Pasvantoğlu/ Pasbanoğlu] of Vidin in modern northwestern Bulgaria and eastern Serbia, İsmail Tırseniklioğlu in Rusçuk [Ruse] and part of modern northeastern Bulgaria, İsmail Bey of Serrai [Serres], in modern northeastern Greece, and others.[3] They all achieved some level of independence from central authority, but two — Osman Pazvantoğlu and Ali Paşa — seem to have gone beyond mere attempts to ensure financial and administrative autonomy under the Ottoman cloak and constructed "proto-states."[4] The process of fragmentation was

[1] Here I refer to the title of a book devoted to the reign of Sultan Selim III. Stanford J. Shaw, *Between Old and New: The Ottoman Empire under Sultan Selim III (1789-1807)* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971).

[2] A document of 1785 speaks of the "*kırcalı eşkiyası*," that is, *kırcalı* bandits. Soon this term seems to have been replaced in Ottoman documentation by "*dağlı eşkiyası*." In Bulgarian folklore and literature, however, *kırcalı* was preserved as the only term for this phenomenon. See a definition of the term and the phenomenon in Vera Mutafchieva, *Kărdzhaliisko vreme* [Kırcalı Time] (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1977), 59-63, [French translation of the book, Vera Moutaftchieva, *L'anarchie dans les Balkans à la fin du XVIIIe siècle* (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2005)].

[3] On the secession in central Rumili see the above-cited monographs of Mutafchieva and Shaw, passim.

[4] According to M. Glenny these acted as a bridge between the Ottoman Empire and the nation-states that eventually emerged on the peninsula, a statement which is of course anachronistic. Misha Glenny, *Balkans, 1804 - 1999: Nationalism, War and the Great Powers* (London: Granta Books, 2000), 5.

pp. 18-50

Rossitsa Gradeva, War and Peace in Rumeli: 15th to Beginning of 19th Century, Istanbul 2008
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Powers also to the corresponding groups of the Balkan peoples — the "democratic" and "revolutionary" for France and Rhigas, but mere submission to the orders of the tsar for Russia and the Orthodox hierarchs.

It is my deep belief, however, that his true self appeared in his contacts with the Muslims and in his opposition to the innovations that, in his opinion, undermined the bases of the empire. What he was aiming at was not a republic after the French model, and he was far from introducing equality and freedom in his mini-state. Yet he also had to reckon with the situation in his territories. Despite the great number of Janissaries, the majority of the population were Christians, Bulgarian and Serbian peasants. He had to make their conditions of life bearable by introducing measures that improved the situation of the *reaya* while complying with Islamic principles. His political aims also forced him to rely on "his" Christians for his military expansion and for his diplomatic contacts. His policy earned him recognition—but mainly from outside rather than within his territories. The relations with the *reaya* were based primarily on cold calculation on both sides. Pazvantoğlu never intended to reform the empire in favor of the Christians. What he probably planned was some improvement of the situation of the *reaya* in line with Islamic tradition and the principles of the Ottoman government from the "golden age" of Süleyman the Magnificent. Christians living on his territory replied with the same level of trust, which did not imply sincere loyalty. Once the Serbian uprising began, the *reaya* sided with their co-religionists. Pazvantoğlu was also deserted by his associates from the Rhigas circle. For them he had been an opportunity for further pressure on the empire, and for a short while their paths went in parallel. With the destruction of Rhigas's *hetairia* their paths diverged, and when the Greek War of Independence began, Pazvantoğlu was no longer alive and no longer interesting to them, living only in the memory of the companions of Rhigas. The same applied to those who regarded Russia as the liberator of Orthodox Christians, mainly in the circles of the high Christian hierarchy but also among the merchants. Even Kalinikos, who had stayed with Pazvantoğlu for nearly a decade, seems to have deserted him at the end. There was probably only one exception, Nedelko Popovits, but this exception only underscores the rule. By that time the Vidin *paşa* had lost his struggles for independence and for the revival of the Ottoman state. Pressed in his corner by the Russians, the Serbs, and the Austrians, betrayed by his Christian subjects and allies, all he could hope for was to preserve his rule. It was among the Janissaries and the rank-and-file Muslims that Pazvantoğlu earned his real and lasting fame. They created and circulated songs for him in which he emerges as a true hero. The age of nationalism had set in in the Balkans.

SECESSION AND REVOLUTION IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AT THE END OF THE 18TH CENTURY: OSMAN PAZVANTOĞLU AND RHIGAS VELESTINLIS

Passavanoglou, why doest thou so long remain impassive?
Rush towards the Balkans, it is there that thou shouldst like the eagle build thy nest.
Let not owls nor crows worry thee.
Join the rayas if thou wishest to conquer.
Silistrie, Braila, Ismaila and Chilie,
Bensderi and Chotzin stretch out their arms to thee.
Send reinforcements and they will fall at thy feet.
as they no longer bear to live under tyranny.
Georgian! Sleep no longer, leap up,
Here is the occasion to do like the one from Broussa.
And thou who in Aleppo dreamst of liberty, rise.
Pasha! Appear forthwith on the battlefields.
Rise at the head of thine armies,
Otherwise thou wilt remain under the orders of Stamboul.
Lions of Egypt, above all elect a king from among your beys.
Let not the kharatch from Egypt appear in Stamboul
So that perishes the wolf that tyrannises you.
Rhigas Velestinlis, *Thourios*[1]

In the dreams of Rhigas Velestinlis this must have been a list of the centres of discontent and secession, nuclei of resistance against the central authority among the Ottoman governors and potential allies of the Greeks in the struggle for freedom and for the subversion of the Ottoman state. This stanza of the *Battle-song* composed by Rhigas, along with stories related by some of his contemporaries,[2] have given grounds for speculation concerning the close relations between the Greek revolutionary and Osman Pazvantoğlu, an Ottoman provincial notable in Vidin, a town on the Danube in what is

[1] I would like to thank the anonymous translator of the *Thourios* into English. He will recognise his piece of work. Cf. also A. Daskalakis, 'Thourios Hymnos' le chant de la liberté de Rhigas Velestinlis,' *Balkan Studies* 4/2 (1963), 347; Rhigas Velestinlis, *Revolyutsionno* [Revolutionary], Sofia 1998, 113-23 (parallel edition in Greek and Bulgarian).

[2] C. Nicolopoulo, 'Notice sur Rhigas (Notice sur la vie et les écrits de Rhigas, l'un des auteurs principaux de la révolution qui a pour but l'indépendance de la Grèce),' *Revue Encyclopédique*, Paris, 21 (janvier 1824) (reprint: Delphi 1998), 275-80; I. Philimon, *Dokimion historikon peri tes Philikes Hetairias* [Historical Essay on the Philiki Hetairia], Athens [n.y.] (reprint of the original edition, Nauplio 1834); C. Perraivos, *Syntomos viografia tou aoidimou Rega Pheraiou tou Thettalou* [Concise Biography of Rhigas Pheraios of Thessaly], Athens 1973 (reprint of the original edition, Athens 1860); Idem, *Apomnemoneumata polemika* [War Memoirs], Athens, 1836, quoted in L. Vranousis, *Regas Velestinlis*, Athens, 1954. I would like to thank Prof. Nadia Danova for having translated the Greek texts used in this study and for sharing with me her knowledge about Greek society and Greek revolutionary movement in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

pp. 51-74

Bey'in mesaisinden memnun kalan Buck nan, onun Amerika'ya giderek Denizaltıcılık tahsiline yardım etti. Bu suretle Rauf Bey, Trablusgarp harbinde ordumuza İtalyan ablukasına karşı faydalı hizmetlerde bulundu.

MÜNASEBETLERİN TEKRAR BAŞLAMASI

Birinci Dünya Harbine kadar devam eden dostane münasebetler, bizim Almanya lehine harbe girişmemizle değişti ve 20 Nisan 1917 de münasebetler kesildi ise de harb ilân edilmedi. Harbin sona ermesi üzerine de Cumhur Başkanı Vilson, 8 Ocak 1918 de Amerikan Kongresinde verdiği nutukta: *"Osmanlı imparatorluğunun Türklerle meskûn olan kısmına tam bir hükümranlık verilmesini"* istemişti. Fakat bu müstemlekecilerin işine gelmiyordu.

Kurtuluş savaşımızda en iyi bizi anlayan, Büyük Atatürk ile teması sağlayan, Amerikalı gazeteciler olmuştu. Lozan'dan sonra asıl yakınlık temeli 18 Şubat 1930 da Amerika senatosunca ve 12 Nisan 1930 da Büyük Millet Meclisince tasdik edilen anlaşmanın kabulü ile başladı.

Büyük Ata, iki Amerikalı tayyareci ve General Mac Arthur'un kabullerinde Amerika hakkında izhar ettikleri iyi niyet nutukları ile iki memleketi yaklaştırmış oldu. İkinci Dünya Savaşı sonunda Türkiye'nin doğu sulhü üzerinde oynadığı parlak ve dürüst siyaset, Amerika'nın hayranlığını celbederek, NATO camiasına ithalini ve devamlı bir yardım programı içinde dünya sulhüne beraber çalışmayı gerçek haline getirmiştir.

Tarih Konuşuyor, V/27 (Nisan 1966) s. 2215-2218
10.1618

İmparatorluğumuzu Temelinden sarsan iç ayaklanmalar:

PAZVANTOĞLU İSYANI

— 2 —

YAZAN : ZİYA HANHAN

Pazvantoğlu isyanı ile yıllarca uğraşmak mecburiyetinde kalan Sultan Üçüncü Selim'in zamanında yapılmış bir gravürü.

Muhasara ordusunun ise beş, zayıf tarafı vardı :

1 — Abdi Paşa ile Derya Kaptanı arasındaki dostluk.

2 — Ordudaki vezirlerle, bilhassa Kütahya Valisi Alo Paşa ile arasındaki anlaşmazlık.

3 — Geçtiği yer ve yolların, daha evvel eşkiya tarafından yağmalanmış ve ordunun ikmalinin güçleşmiş olması.

4 — Napolyon'un Tulon limanında hazırladığı büyük donanma ile bilinmiyen bir ülkeye, fakat yüzde doksan Türk topraklarına karşı girişeceği bir istilâ teşebbüsü.

5 — Ve en sonuncusu -ki, en önemlisidir.- Yeniçerilerle, Yamaklar arasında ki yakınlık...

Orduda, daha muhasaranın ilk günlerinden beri :

"— İslâm, islâm üzerine kılıç çeker mi? Bunun kitapta yerini görmedikçe harp etmeyiz."

"— İçerdekiler (Vidinde mahsur isyancılar) bizim ocak yoldaşımız, din kardeşimizdir, üstlerine kılıç çekip varamayız," demeğe başlamışlardı.

Bununla beraber, eyalet paşaları kaleyi tam bir muhasara altına almış, çadırları önüne tuğlarını dikmiş, lağımcı ve kumbaracılar, kaleye doğru toprak sürmeğe, sıçan yolları açmağa başlamışlardı.

HÜSEYİN PAŞANIN ELÇİLERE CEVABI

Vidin Kalesi tam bir muhasara altına alınmıştı. Tunanın sağ kıyısında, yani, asıl şehrin, varoşun ve kalenin bulunduğu tarafta, Serdarı Ekremle, Rumeli, Silistire, Adana, Tırhala, Tepedelen, Kars valileri; Palaslı Ali Paşa, Cebbar Zade, Kara Osmanoğlu Ömer Ağa'nın gönüllüleri, karşı yakada ise, Kürt Alo Paşanın süvarileri bulunmaktaydı. Ayrıca Tuna üzerinde, Kaptan İbrahim Bayraktar komutasında bir "ince donanma" kol gezmekteydi. Nehir üzerindeki adalarla, civardaki kale ve palangalar, tamamiyle zabtedilmiş, çenber daraltılmıştı. Gerçi Nemçelü (Avusturya) nün yardımıyla, kale adamakıllı donatılmıştı. Pazvantoğlu'nun yeteri kadar topu, cephanesi, erzakı vardı. Fakat, hazıra hazne dayanmazdı. Osmanlıların tutu-

19 ARALIK 1967

D.1618 Tarih Konuşuyor, V/26 (Ocak 1966) s. 2165-2168

Nâsır bu değişiklikten faydalanma çaresini bulmakta gecikmedi. Yardımcılarından Abdülhakim Amr'a, hükûmet kuvvetinin başına geçip onunla birlikte Genel Karargâha dönmesi emrini verdi.

Kapıdaki nöbetçiler hiçbir şeyden şüphelenmediler. Arkadaşlarının geri geldiklerini görünce, bunların işlerini bitirdiklerini sandılar. Nöbetçiler hemen zararsız hale getirildi. Giriş kapısının önündeki iki tanesi de öldürüldü.

KIRALLIK REJİMİNİN KALESİ ÇÖKÜYOR

Abdülhakim Amr arkasında birkaç asker de olduğu halde merdivenleri dörder dörder çıktı, elinde tabanca,generallerin toplantı halinde oldukları salona daldı. Hepsi şaşkına dönmüşlerdi, karşı koymayı düşünmediler bile, hemen teslim oldular. Bir çeyrek saatten daha kısa bir zaman içinde, kırallık rejiminin kalesi böylece çökmüş bulunuyordu.

Geceyarısı ihtilâlci birlikleri hemen yürüyüşe geçerek şehrin stratejik noktalarını, resmî binaları, telefon santralini ve Radyoevini işgal ettiler ve büyük bir mukavemetle karşılaşmadılar. Kahire derin bir uykuya dalmıştı. Olup bitenlerden kimsenin haberi yoktu, hatta General Necib'in bile. Nitekim sabahın saat 3 ünde İçişleri Bakanı kendisine telefon ederek ordunun yapıp ettiklerini anlattığı, bu hareketin durdurulması gerektiğini söylediği zaman, General Necip :

"— Hiçbir şeyden haberim yok" demişti ve bunda haklıydı.

"AFERİN ÇOCUKLAR, İYİ BİR İŞ BAŞARDINIZ!"

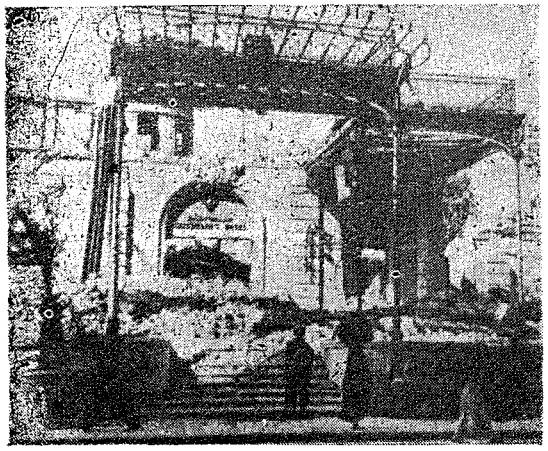
Saat 5 te Cunta üyeleri gelip kendisini evinden alarak alelâcele Genel Karargâha götürdüler. Bütün bina âsilerin işgali altındaydı. Necip gülerek :

"— Aferin çocuklar, çok iyi iş gördünüz doğrusu, tebrik ederim," dedi.

İhtilâlin İcra Komitesi bu herkesin sevdiği toksözlü, babacan tavırlı generali ordunun başkumandanlığına atadı. Saat 7 de de radyoda millete hitaben bir bildiri yayınladı. İngiltere Büyükelçiliğine bir nato verilerek Mısır'da olup biten şeylerin tamamen dahili nitelikte oldukları, İngiliz kıtalarının her türlü müdahale teşebbüslerinin bir harp sebebi sayılacağı bildirildi. Fakat bütün zihinlerde yine de bir soru işareti çengellenmişti: Acaba İngiltere ne yapacak?

Fakat İngiltere, ihtilâl hareketinin Mısır milleti tarafından büyük bir coşkunlukla karşılandığını görünce hiçbir şey yapmadı. 23 Temmuz sabahı ordu iktidarı ele geçirmiş, şimdi hazırlanan programın ikinci ve üçüncü safhalarının uygulanmasına, yani sivil idarenin ele geçirilmesine ve Kıral Faruk'un tahttan indirilmesine sıra gelmişti.

Kısaltarak çeviren : S. T.



1952 kargaşalıklarında yakılıp yıkılan ünlü "Shepheard" otelinin harabesi.

Pazvantoğlu Osman Ağa, 1787 Rus seferinde isyanından dolayı Koca Yusuf Paşa'nın emri ile idam edilen bir şakinin oğludur. Babasının âkibetinden sonra bir müddet kaçak gezmiş, sonra meydana çıkarak "yamak" yazılmıştır. Yamaklar, hudut muhafızlığında bulunan yeniçerilerdir.

Pasbanoğlu lâkabı değiştirilerek kendisine Pazvantoğlu denilen bu sergerde, ataklığı ve cür'eti ile kısa zamanda Vidin yamaklarının başına geçmiş Rumeliyi kasıp kavurmağa başlamıştı.

Aşağıdaki yazı, imparatorluğumuzu senelerce uğraştıran bu âsinin yokedilişine ait meraklı safhayı anlatmaktadır.

İmparatorluğumuzu Temelinden sarsan iç ayaklanmalar:

PAZVANTOĞLU İSYANI

YAZAN : ZİYA HANHAN

Vidin Valisi Pazvantoğlu Osman Ağa.

Bir azîm serhaddir, Vidin demişler,
Ziyaret etmeğe gidin, demişler.
Sıdkile hikâye edin, demişler
Başına geldiği cümle seyranı...

18.Yüzyıl, Osmanlı - Türk imparatorluğunun temellerinden sarsıldığı zaman bölümüdür. Dıştan Rusya, Nemçe, Fransa, İngiltere, içten, dağlı eşkiyası, Mısır Beyleri, Acemoğlu ve emsali sergerdeler, Akdenizde Karakaçan, Sotiri adlı korsanlar, ayrı ayrı, fakat ayni maksatla, Osmanlı Türklerini Avrupa ve Afrikadan atmak için el ve işbirliği halindeydiler. İç ayaklanmalarda, hikâyesini hazırladığımız Pazvantoğlu, tâ dedesinden başlayarak Türk - Osmanlı İmparatorluğunu 60 - 70 yıl meşgul etmiş, üzerine çekilen yüzbin kişilik orduları kanlı savaşlar vermeğe zorlamıştır.

★ ★ ★

Pazvantoğlu'nun Osmanlı Türklerine karşı duyduğu sönmez kin, dede mirası-

19 ARALIK 2001